fads of Western inspiration. Vaccination, the calendar, European dress for officials, photography, edicts against long hair belong to the late 1870's. Chamberlain has spoken of the years 1885-87 as the "years of the great foreign fever."[24] Japan was the medium through which Western ideas were brought to bear on the old Okinawan culture. This new intrusion, indirectly set off both by the Perry expedition and the determination of the Japanese to change their own country, was modern Japan, compounded of traditional and Western ideas. When we speak of the "Japanization" of the islands, we must remember that some of this is also Westernization.

Foremost among these changes was the introduction of the new Japanese education. Education came to the rural areas and provided the basis, as in Japan, for mass literacy. This was not an easy task. Nor was it accomplished at once. Chamberlain in 1895 tells of the signs at the entrance to each village, giving the population, the number of children of school age and the number of children actually attending school, a "device not used in Japan itself, but resorted to here with the object of shaming parents into sending their children to school. To get the girls sent there has been found very difficult--the Further Isles almost impossible." The extent of this change can be appreciated by Chamberlain's further remark that few outside of Naha understood Japanese, and that the language was taught the first year so that it could be used later in instruction in other subjects.[25] Before World War II, as now, Japanese was spoken and understood by all, except the very old, the Japanese language existing side by side with Okinawan which remained the language of children, intimates, and of the village. The adoption of Japanese dress, the cutting of the hair, the learning of the Japanese language were the avenues to official employment.

Another great change was the abolition of the old system of land tenure, something we shall dwell upon at length later. By a series of laws over the period 1899-1903, the old system of village communal ownership with a periodic distribution of the rice lands and the dry crop land was abolished and private ownership and inheritance of land were instituted. The abolition of the old land allotment system must have changed the aspect of the villages, for village-owned granaries, were part of the central area of a village.[26] This change in land tenure, as Spencer has suggested, contributed to the further economic decline of the native religion of the noro priestesses whose lands, still retained, were now subject to different laws of inheritance.[27]

[TEXT Continues on TOP of P. 40 — Analyst]

24 Basil Hall Chamberlain. Things Japanese, 238. See his comments on "fashionable crazes," 155-57.

25 The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 457-58. Chamberlain adds, page 457, an interesting table showing school attendance by district which indicated that eligibles going to school were in a distinct minority.

26 Hawks, Perry's Expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 314; II, 34.

27 The Noro, or priestesses of Loo-choo, as cited, 109. This is an interesting example of the relation of an old religion to economic changes brought about by a revolution in land tenure induced from above.

Co-operation often takes the form of a division of labor. In building an elaborate permanent house with cement foundations, siding, plank flooring and a tile roof, greater skills than the handyman techniques of a smaller house are required. In the building of a house, men with special skills, such as a carpenter, a cement mixer, a stonecutter, or a mason participate; others bring lumber and wood from the mountains, as in Matsuda, or lay the grass on the tile roof. In some cases, all the labor may be donated; in others, the carpenter, the cement mixer, the stonecutter may be hired, with helper's work done by volunteers. In simpler construction, the carpentry may be done by anyone who has this secondary skill but is primarily a farmer or a fisherman. People who have those skills are said to have half and half occupations (hannohangyō in Japanese).

7

Housebuilding Ceremonies

In building, a distinction is made between a temporary and a permanent house. A temporary house may be built following a typhoon or a fire, or it may be constructed for a poor man and in fact be a permanent house for the family, the good house to come being more an aspiration than an early reality. The marks of a permanent house are construction with beams, instead of poles, good siding, a good roof, now mostly of tile, a design based on mat size, and a cemented kitchen. Housebuilding ceremonies and celebrations apply only to the permanent house.

Ceremonies or observances during stages in the building of a house differ from place to place and among people in the same village. In Matsuda before the house is started, the owner, his friends, and neighbors gather and offer a prayer that the house be a good and a happy one. Before construction, and once each year following completion, rice cakes (mochi in Japanese) and sake are placed in each of the four corners of the house site. Three rice cakes are put on the smallest of three saucers which fit into one another. Two of these saucer sets with the rice cakes, together with a sake bottle and a small cup are placed on a tray. The east, north, west, and south corners are visited in that order. Sake is poured from the flask to a small cup. There is a short prayer. A piece of white paper, attached to a stick of dwarf bamboo (Yanbaru take) about one foot long is burned. The sake is poured over the embers. The top rice cake is placed on the corner; the other two remain on the small plate. Prayers are offered for protection against the deadly snake (habu). The rice cake is then picked up. On the next corner, the ceremony is repeated.

When the ridge pole is put up, the carpenter prays that there will be no injuries. Observances at the raising of the roof (muneage in Okinawan) seem to be universal in the villages. Three parcels, one of salt, one of bean paste, and one of charcoal are wrapped in a leaf--any will do--and these are tied with a string and suspended from the inner side of the crossbeam or from the ridge pole. There are no prayers at this time.

593 596 [428] [691] [464] [591] tered in the villages--a first son may be passed over in favor of a second son because of mental disability, gross incompetence, or excessive drinking, or the father, by selling his land to his other sons may in effect disinherit his first son. These actions involve the courts and it is rare for villagers to engage in litigation. In practice, the first son almost invariably succeeds. On his marriage, the first son and his wife live in the home of his parents. There are some exceptions to this. Since the war, some first sons in agricultural communities have found opportunities in business in Naha, in larger towns like Itoman or Nago, in military government or in Okinawan government positions. In this case, the first son does not live with his parents, but he continues with this new work in the strange town, the parents on their retirement, or as they become more helpless, joining the son. But in cases where the first son continues in the occupation of his father, this is the usual and expected practice. Only long standing incompatability between father and son prevents such an arrangement.

593 464 166 167 One point regarding the future of the family system that may assume importance in Okinawa is that the responsibilities of the first son increase with any decline in opportunities for succeeding sons. The traditional outlet for sons other than the first in Oriental countries has been migration to the cities, to lands of new settlement, or emigration to foreign countries. In Okinawa, emigration to various parts of the world, the South Seas, Hawaii, Peru, Brazil has been the most important of these outlets. Its history cannot be understood without appreciating this fact. Both first and succeeding sons have emigrated. With the virtual stoppage of emigration, the only solution for second and succeeding sons would seem to lie in opportunities coming from military installations, government work, industrial and urban development, in addition to the present opportunities in agriculture. If with a growing population, the family system begins to break apart, it will probably be first noticed in the inability of the first sons to bear increased responsibilities.

593 596 For this reason, it is interesting to record some observed attitudes of first and other sons in the villages studied. These attitudes are personal ones. No inter-village comparisons can be made. The first is one of pride in being a first son and in assuming the headship of the house but dislike of the responsibility of providing for siblings, especially when the estate is not large. Dislike of the responsibilities of being the first son was most observable in Hinatogawa. Here the lack of land, succession merely to a house site, a boat or fishing gear, but with the same responsibility for care for younger brothers and sisters, parents and grandparents put the clearest burden on the first son. The financial burden of paying for anniversary celebrations on the death of a relative is especially onerous. There is only minor help from younger brothers. This fact is not resented as a lack of generosity of the younger brothers who by now would have branch houses of their own; it is part of the family system. Younger brothers might contribute, as one first son jokingly said, fifty yen to a celebration that cost two thousand.

sandstone one sees in the new buildings of Naha often is from the quarries of this area. Stone quarries are scattered in various parts of Okinawa, but the Hinatogawa stone is considered the best.

Sandstone quarrying started, according to older settlers, about sixty years ago. Cutting began on the coast, gradually working up slope over rolling stony land. It is an interesting example of the transformation of a landscape by man. Now with the old methods still in use, the cutting has extended beyond the village. Stonecutting operations in the main are in the steep bluffs around both villages, although there are numerous cuttings in the newer settlements of Hinatogawa and along the seashore. Frequently the cut stone blocks lie near the temporary Hinatogawa tombs which dot the rocky coast. By the simplest methods, large quantities of stone have been and continue to be removed. All work is done by hand; machinery was installed by the Americans after the war, but it is out of working order and stands idle.

Before the war, stonecutting in this vicinity was a more thriving industry than now. Quarries are also found in neighboring Tamagusuku township and there is a distributing outlet in Horikawa, the village across the river. Before the war from 300-500 men are said to have engaged in stonecutting. Now there are about 120 in both villages. Many of these stone workers had come from other parts of Okinawa and the Ryukyus: men from the offshore islands, Ie-shima, the Kerama chain, and Iheya, and on the south east, from Kudaka, Tsuken, and Heanza islands. Most of those settlers from the offshore islands have left. A few, born on Ie-shima, or from the northern district still remain.

Since the war coastwise shipping of lumber and firewood from the north and stone from the south had declined sharply. Trucks have largely displaced the boats. Transport costs are high and the stone is in demand in closer markets.

2

Acquiring and Working the Land

Customary practices govern the quarrying of stone. These eliminate the need for written agreements. Interested persons know the properties and the possibilities of each site. These customary practices are concerned with the acquisition, the working and the restoration of land. Techniques for working the stone have remained nearly the same for at least sixty years.

The stonecutter purchases rights to the stone, not the land itself. When the stone has been extracted, the land is returned to its owner. This is unimproved land, but after the stone has been quarried, a house may be built on the site. When a stonecutter (sekko) wishes to acquire a certain holding, he calls on the owner of the land. Following oral negotiations, the price is agreed upon. A good price

885 well accustomed to the routine of the occupation they will follow.
888 The young fisherman has gone to sea for his beginning lessons. The young farmer knows most of the skills of planting and cultivating. The young stone worker, requiring little training to begin, is already at work.

885 Young men maintain close relationships with their families prior
593 to marriage. In the villages studied, there is little movement to the larger towns. Since the war young men or women have found employ-
A64 ment, at various times, in government and military government offices as account clerks, maids, translators, clerks at post exchanges, officer's clubs, restaurants, bars, and the like. But there were few instances in these villages.

A young man does not leave the village ordinarily, nor does he rent separate living quarters. These continuing family ties up to marriage may account for the boyishness and lack of maturity noticeable in so many young men in the age group from 17 to 25. The young school teacher, the truck driver, fisherman, or farmer may turn over part of his earnings to the parents. In rural Okinawa, residence in the home and attachment to the family last well into the years of younger maturity. This does not mean that there are no personal dissatisfactions with their situation.

834 There are few outward signs of personal attraction among young men and women during the teens and the years before marriage. In public, boys and young men of the same age group usually are seen together. This is true of the girls. Clandestine meetings among young men and young women take place. A mutual attraction is often communicated by a young go-between trusted by both. This secrecy does not come about from a desire to conceal the attraction, but because both parties are shy (hasukashii). This public reticence, so old in
[178] Oriental cultures, is gradually breaking down. It is a convention, based on public repression of one's feelings. This does not mean that people dislike personal and physical contact and lack demonstrativeness.
[50] Okinawans are emotional and demonstrative, and do not avoid physical contact, as anyone who has seen them at their parties has discovered.16

But young men and young women may meet quite openly. A young man in his early twenties may visit a girl's house, stay all day with her and her parents, and part of the time be alone with her. The young,

16 It is too early to tell the effect of ideas of sex equality on rural Okinawan society. That the supposed high position of the American woman has made an impression on many rural Okinawan women there can be no doubt. The influence of young American soldiers and sailors, their catering and thoughtfulness toward Okinawan girls to whom they
[177] are deeply attracted has spread beyond the range of those with the immediate experience. The soldiers are responsible for the adoption
[834] of the word, "honey." Okinawan boys use it in the same sense as Americans: as any very attractive girl, or as a girl deeply loved personally.

home country. Nevertheless, many aspects of Okinawan life still suggest an earlier phase in which independent developments gave the islands their own particular culture.

The Okinawan people, approximately 655,000 as counted in 1954, live in an area of about 454 square miles. Their major economic activities have traditionally been agriculture and fishing. In 1945 a long, peaceful existence was brought to an abrupt end during the final battles of World War II in the Pacific. As a result of world conditions Okinawans have been placed under American administration for an indefinite period of time. Today large numbers of men—and some women—find employment as unskilled and semiskilled laborers with the American forces. Gradual training for highly skilled jobs widens these opportunities for employment. Indirectly Okinawan life is influenced by Americans through stimulation of trade, building, and improved health conditions. Land requirements of the American forces in some areas also have influenced the settlement pattern. While these changes have affected the entire island to some degree, the greatest changes are noticeable in the central part around Naha where American administrative and military personnel are located. The village of Taira in the northern province of Kunigami, where the present study was located, had been subject to relatively few of these postwar changes in 1954. Isolated since earliest times because of mountainous terrain, this part of the island participates, as it probably always did, marginally in cultural influences which affect the center of the island. A great deal of cultural stability has therefore been preserved until the present day.

Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that the population of northern Okinawa is linked with the rest of the island by an efficient communications system. Roads connect almost all settlements in the north with the central island, and a bus transportation system extends its service into the remote areas. But long before all villages were connected by road with the center of Okinawa, people of Kunigami province traveled by foot over the many trails which traverse the mountains, and, since the turn of the century, many have left their home villages. Some went to Japan as laborers; others settled in the Japanese-controlled Islands of the Pacific, and some families joined the numerous Okinawan settlements in South American countries.

LANGUAGE

Taira people are bilingual. Okinawan, which linguists consider a separate language, has many regional dialects, some of which are not

132 however, shows much less variation. From the low 50's in early winter it rises to the low 80's in midsummer. The relative humidities, having daily means of 70% in January and February and 82% in July and August, may often reach an uncomfortable 96% preceding or following one of the many rain squalls in the hot season.

From January through March, winds blowing from the northwest to north carry cold, damp air from the Asian continent across the East China Sea. Although many houses in Taira are somewhat protected by bushes separating them from the open valley behind, nevertheless, house doors are often kept shut during this coldest part of the year.

March and April offer a pleasant, balanced climate. Winds are east to southeast, rainfall is low, and temperatures reach the high 60's. The rainy season begins in late May and lasts until late June. During these [964] four weeks it sometimes rains steadily for one or two days, and adults are forced to give up working.

Children take shelter during the worst downpours, but they reappear outside even before the rains are over to play in puddles or little streams running down the streets. During this time floods and landslides occur.

Midsummer is often so hot and humid that villagers frequently comment on their discomfort. This is one of the busiest agricultural seasons, but exhaustion causes many people to take naps during noon [961] [513] hours. Work efficiency decreases, and fewer daily trips are made to the mountains. Children also stay at home in the afternoon. It is believed that the heat causes severe headaches. The hot season gradually gives way to a few weeks in late October, November, and early December which correspond in climate to an early fall in northeastern United States.

132 Typhoons are known to have hit Okinawa at almost any time of 731 the year. The most dangerous season for these violent storms, however, with wind velocities of over 50 miles per hour, is from late June [206] until October. An extensive warning system exists, and Taira, though remote and without radio, is notified immediately by telephone of storm warnings, sometimes days in advance. Taira people hardly need such warnings. They can sense the oncoming storm and often predict one correctly before the official forecasts confirm that a storm is approaching the island. Since 1955 was one of the rare years in which no major storm hit the island, no firsthand description can be given. The damage is always considerable, not only to crops and trees but also to houses and other property.

462 [241] heavy sods in the rice paddy; nevertheless, women and younger girls often do this work along with the men and boys if time runs short. There are some women who prepare their farm land without the help of their husbands.

[313] [843] [482] In mountain work, women produce almost as much as men except that they do not handle the large logs. Even pregnant women make three or four daily mountain trips, sometimes up until the day of childbirth. Only the mode of carrying wood, like any load, differs for the sexes: a man uses a carrying stick supported on his shoulder, with two bundles attached to each end; a woman carries bundles on her back, tied and held in place by a tump line tied over her forehead. Women can carry loads of 100 to 120 pounds in this manner.

[312] Men seldom carry water from the tank or faucet to the house; this is considered women's work, although younger boys are expected to help at times. Work in the potato fields is mainly women's responsibility. Their hands are also preferred in rice transplanting, where dexterity is needed in pulling out the tender shoots from the seed bed and replanting them in straight rows at measured intervals. Occasionally a young man helps, and boys sometimes try to work along with their sisters when they learn transplanting. Both men and women sow the seed beds. In special activities, such as house building, a more distinct division of labor can be observed. In any building activity, men do the structural work and women carry materials and cook for the men. The same division of labor is found on community projects, road building, fencing against wild pigs, or repairing the water pipes. In general, however, no special comment is made if either a man or woman performs work usually done by the opposite sex.

241 462 462 [342] [653] 887 462 ● [464] Men and women work in the fields and forests from ages 15 to 60. When they approach 60, men like to "retire." If possible, they turn over their responsibilities as household heads to their eldest sons. From then on, they tend to stay home more and more. They can still help with less demanding work, making bamboo rings for firewood bundles, sawing wood, or doing odd jobs around the house. Approaching old age, most men become economically useless and in other ways contribute little to society. For old women, quite the contrary is true. Even grandmothers who are well over 60 seem strong and active. Most of [241] them go to the fields to plant or harvest potatoes or other vegetables. One woman, well into her sixties and bent over from arthritis, took long walks to distant potato fields, with a hoe on top of it, supporting herself on a stick. Other grandmothers look after the youngest children, thus freeing the mother for work. [155] Old women also cook, help bundle firewood,

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

and look after the sick. Even if they are too old for any work, like two oldsters over 80 years, they can still hold the youngest grandchild. Two exceptional old men, brothers of almost the same age, pass their time by making rope bags and mats from the fiber of the fan palm. Both are active as financial experts, investing money here and there and lending it for high interests in various shrewd transactions.

INFORMAL AND FORMAL COOPERATION

Cooperation plays a prominent part in Taira economy. Assistance is always given for major tasks, such as preparing grass land for farm use or house building, or for work which must be done quickly, such as transplanting rice or harvesting and milling sugar. In fact, since wet rice cultivation depends on assistance in any culture that works its paddies by hand, it is noteworthy that the term *iimarū*, used in Taira for labor exchange in planting and harvesting, is also extended to other mutual assistance. The term, literally translated, means "gathering by rotation." A family who plans a project that needs the help of others makes an informal arrangement with relatives or neighbors to help for one or more days. This is simply done by notifying individuals that such help is needed. No one, unless he has urgent reasons, would refuse to comply with a call for assistance. If it is a small task, a few close relatives are asked. In most larger undertakings, it is the neighborhood group that lends a hand. These mutual-assistance groups usually form within the central village and within each of the geographical clusters of the outlying village, although close relatives from other parts of the community may be called. However, the most recent arrivals in Taira, all present members of one family line who have the same surname, act jointly in reclamation of neglected fields to strengthen their economic position.

Return services are expected, but nobody would admit that there is any thought of equal compensation and would not even joke about the matter. There is a strong feeling that calculated thinking is unseemly not only among relatives but also among unrelated neighbors. One man, when asked what would happen if a person refused to comply to a request for help, answered, "There is no such dirty person, and if there were one, he would be an outcast." During the rice planting season, persons helping in another's fields will shortly be helped themselves. In housebuilding, a long time may pass until those who aided will need aid in return.

Except for people over 56, pregnant women, and mothers of chil-

653 dren under 3 years, every adult past school age, male or female, is required to work on community projects if called by the village head. [464] Officials may pay the village for exemption from this duty. There are two kinds of community corvées, those in which every adult and qualified member of a household has to participate, and those in which only one household representative is required to attend. As many as 12 days a year may be spent by each villager on road construction, clearing of village land, improvement of village-owned tea fields, or in similar projects. In some cases, where the central government has granted support, this work may be compensated by a small payment. More often, however, it is a free contribution to the village effort.

474 The strength of deeply rooted cooperative behavior seems to have been an essential factor in introducing formal cooperatives successfully in this area. The northern village of Oku is credited with being the first community in Kunigami province to organize a cooperative store in 1906. Initiative for this organization was provided through the Japanese administration. Taira was the first village in present-day Higashi township to establish a cooperative. In 1918 the village was poverty stricken, and village leaders, the president of the Young People's Association, one of the teachers, and others, made a study of the Oku organization. They then convinced the Taira headman of the great possibilities. Over the years the Taira cooperative supported by the majority of Tairan households, through buying of mountain products, marketing, running the store, and sugar production, tried to improve the village economy. One immediate result was that the indebtedness to money lenders from outside the village, especially to the owners of sailing junks which transported mountain products south, could be avoided. Up until the war the cooperative flourished and improved economy.

The end of the war found the village cooperative totally defunct, and it took several years to restore the organization. At present it owns the store, the sugar mill, and the truck. It also controls the use of the [245] village-owned tea fields in which everybody has the right to grow at least one row of tea bushes.

474 Shares in the cooperative are held by households, and almost every-
621 one in Taira is a member. The two directors and several officers are elected by shareholders. Actually the directorship does not change often, and the most influential leaders usually hold the office. They may initiate measures which will aid the village economy, but they have no absolute power: a check and balance system protects the people. As one person put it, "It is always necessary to have a few persons outside the business so that they can check what is going on. If people of the

Although animals are generally bought for prices that the community considers as relatively fixed (see below), meat animals sell for a certain rate per unit weight that varies with the market. Old cows and bullocks are generally sold for meat at the rate of ¥60 per kin. Boars, if fat, are sold for ¥42 per kin. Male goats bring ¥20 per kin for eating purposes, and chickens bring about ¥200 per kin. Females of any animals are very seldom sold unless old and almost dying, or unless the farmer finds himself in dire monetary emergency. Nanahan, which has the greatest vegetable acreage in Tomoyose village, has a 'han'-wide agreement not to raise chickens, due to their possible destruction of young plants. 435

Buying of Livestock and Daily Necessities The war depleted most of the livestock of Okinawa, and recovery has been slow. Okinawan farmers frequently expressed their gratitude to the American religious organizations which sent goats to them to help in reconstruction. 727 231 [177]

The reversion of Amami indirectly helped to increase the livestock on Okinawa. A Nanahan farmer described the situation in late November of 1953: 439 231

> Horses, cows, goats and pigs, together with household furniture come into Tomari port from Amami every day. The Amamians want to get as much Okinawan yen as possible, because it will convert to Japanese yen at three to one, and they think they will be ahead. The accelerated cattle movement started right after reversion intentions were announced. We are very glad to be able to buy the animals, but important people on Amami are afraid that this movement will deplete the island of animals, especially stud horses and bulls, goats and pigs for breeding.

Nanahan farmers have relatively fixed ideas on the prices of livestock. For middle grade, or average, stock the following prices are quoted: horses, ¥13,000; cows, ¥25,000; heifers, ¥10-11,000; calves ¥9-10,000; boars, ¥2,500; sows, ¥2,700; and all goats, ¥300-400. 435

Before the war there were many people traveling through the countryside selling 'miso' paste and bean curd. Every other day such peddlers would visit even the most isolated settlements. Better roads and increased communications by bus and jitney have oriented purchase of staples urbanward. The only peddlers who now come through Nanahan are basket peddlers. Two small stores in the main settlement provide 'sake', noodles, matches and other small-cost items that are not worth a trip to town. 438 178 443

Sale of Services Farm labor is drawn from the southern islands and from poorer families who are just getting a start in the community. In Nanahan there was only one full-time farm laborer, who was paid ¥2,000 a month, in addition to room and board. He had left Miyako when eighteen, two years before, because of a famine that was being caused by a sweet-potato virus. His employer was a man who managed a good deal of land---indeed the land that belonged to himself and two minor relatives---and sorely needed the extra labor. Another landowner was converting dry land to paddy, and after 464 ● [465]

the bulldozer had done the basic shaping of the field, a new member of the 'han' was hired to finish the pounding of the paddy walls. He was paid ¥900 for six days' work, and was required to provide his own lunch. His employer had spent the first year after the war in Hokkaido, working for no money but receiving one 'shō' (3.18 pints) of rice a day. Later he rented a horse and cart from its owner at ¥60 a day and pocketed anything above that amount that he earned. During planting and harvest season he worked in the rice fields.

Horses are rented out by their owners to other people, but when a cow is rented the owner's services are always included. No farmer trusts anyone else with his cow. A man-and-cow hire out for ¥250-300 a day, depending on the distance they must travel. A horse is most often rented to pull the sweep of a rotary sugar-press, and is paid according to the amount of juice of black sugar produced. Various prices are quoted. ¥100 is paid for each 'chō' (100 kin, or 132 pounds) of black sugar produced. One farmer charges for the use of his horse a flat rate of ¥1 for each gallon of juice squeezed. Another charges ¥60 for 50 gallons of juice if the renter lives in Nanahan or close by, and ¥70 if he lives farther away. Horses were scarce the first year after the war, and fifteen men together pulled the sweeps of the rotary presses.

Buying of Labor and Services Many times farmers have need of a great amount of labor in a short period of time. Then they are most likely to call upon the services of the young people's group, the 'seinendan'. One Nanahan farmer in 1952 had this group make a paddy field for him from a dry field. In 1953 another farmer had the group make a 300 'tsubo' dry field for him out of 'arechi', or war-destroyed land. The 'seinendan' also hires its members out to work for people who need help in the busy season. The following daily wage rates were quotes: women and new members, ¥40; men of 18 and 19 years, ¥50; and men of 20 years and above, ¥60.

Abolition of the stringent Japanese regulations compelling farmers to raise sugar has resulted in the reconversion of many sugar fields to rice paddies. At first this was done exclusively by hand labor, but now bulldozers are more in favor. One farmer had 420 'tsubo' of dry land converted into paddy at a total cost for bulldozer leveling of ¥6,300. The rate for machine and operator was ¥600 an hour. The farmer owns 450 tsubo more of paddy, which provides rice for one meal a day. With this newly-converted field he plans to have his family eat rice twice daily. Labor charges for finishing the new paddy will run about ¥4,000, according to estimate.

One of his relatives is a repatriate from the hemp-growing colony at Davao, in the Philippines. This man bought land from a villager who was dissatisfied with country life, and hired a bulldozer to convert it to paddy. For conversion of 816 tsubo he paid bulldozer charges of ¥12,000 and ¥8,000 additional for labor. He had bought the dry land ('hatake') originally for ¥65 per tsubo.

About the only other service regularly engaged is the hulling and polishing of rice. Nanahan people take their threshed rice to a neighboring village where there is a 'seimaisho' (rice-cleaning mill), and pay only cash for the service. They return home with the polished rice and the bran, or

war level. This is due to several factors. The local prices for reed products are said to be too low, and access to Japanese markets is difficult today due to the separation of Okinawa and Japan. Since the war local food shortages and changed tastes and diet have influenced change to greater rice production. Many houses in Kanegusuku lost their mat-weaving looms during the war, depriving them of this means of support. In addition, there is some feeling that it is too time-consuming and the young girls do not like it. 286 433 178

One tsubo produces about two bundles of reed, which is worth about ¥10 a bundle when dried. Usually the reed is not sold, but is made by the producer's family into mats. Two bundles of reeds make one 'goza' mat, which sells for ¥65-100 in Naha. One person can make about two of these mats in one day. However, in almost all families this is part-time work, the woman of the house weaving in her spare time. One family in the village fortunate enough to own two looms employs two village girls full time as long as a supply of reeds is available. 286 433 [435] [464]

The covering for the 'tatami' mat is called 'tatami omote'. An individual can make about six of these per day. They are faster-made than 'goza' because the ends do not have to be tied off and bordered. These sell for about ¥45 in Naha, which place people prefer to Itoman as a market for their reed products. However, rice straw to be used in the base of 'tatami' is sold in Itoman because the cost of transporting the bulky straw to Naha would be prohibitive---it is sold for only ¥1 or ¥2 per bundle. The Agricultural Co-operative is trying to arrange for the sale of 'tatami omote' in Kagoshima where ¥85 per mat can be obtained. The first such postwar collection and sale was made early in 1954. 286 433 435

Prewar Home Industry in Yamada Before the war people in Yamada made much of their own clothing, and were self-sufficient in most of the tools they used. Most of the clothing was made by the women of the village themselves. Most women wove, and many wove constantly when not in the fields. Many had their own looms, but those who did not borrowed looms from their neighbors. 294 [286]

The usual summer garment was a kimono of banana-fiber cloth and the usual winter garment one of cotton. The former was made wholly at home, from the tree to the finished garment. For the cotton kimono the threads were purchased, usually at Kadena, already dyed, and the cloth woven at home. [291]

Several families had silkworms. They got the eggs from Japan and fed the worms on mulberry leaves they grew in their yards. These women spun and wove at home but they sometimes had professional dyers at Kadena or Naha dye the threads for them. Silk garments, like store-bought garments, were only for grand occasions. 231 283 292

Before the war some Yamada women made "panama" hats in their homes as piecework for a hat company. The company furnished the materials and bought the finished product. This was one of the few sources of cash available outside the sugar crop. Baskets, carrying bags, and raincapes made of 294 [434]

[Kanegusuku]
[Kitazato]

on Okinawa observed that the farmer took little interest in the care of land which he did not regard as his own. The author was particularly impressed by the contrast between Japan and Okinawa in regard to the care of land, for the meticulous care which the Japanese farmer lavishes on his land seems absent by contrast among the Okinawan farmers.

Kitazato The farm village of Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son presents a marked contrast to Kanegusuku in that it has suffered the loss of a major part of its area to a military installation. In studying the village of Kitazato the village of Kanegusuku was used as a base line for comparisons. To supplement his own observations the author has drawn heavily on actual statements by Kitazato people; in this way he hopes to present as accurately as possible the actual state of the village compared to villages elsewhere on Okinawa, and the villagers' own conceptualization of their circumstances.

Kitazato is not an old village, having been founded but seven generations ago by the younger sons of gentry families from the Naha-Shuri area. It was politically independent of the neighboring villages during the time of the old kingdom, but after the annexation it was administered in part by the villages of Gushiken and Jahana. In 1936 or 1937 it was established as an independent village, taking its present name.

Following their release from civilian internment camps the villagers returned to the site of their old homes shortly before New Year's of 1946. They found virtually their entire village land area converted into an airfield and accompanying military installations. According to their account there was considerable misunderstanding between them and the military as to where they might live, and they feel that they were subject to contradictory and inconsistent orders. Several moves were made which disrupted their plans to settle, and one villager stated, "I grew tired of rebuilding my house." In 1948 they were finally ordered to remove themselves from the military area, and they took up residence in their present location. It is claimed that there was insufficient land in the area to resettle the entire village on a single site; so, the village divided into three sections. Thirty houses were located on the beach between the villages of Gushiken and Shinzato, and this segment was given the name Hama. The remainder of the houses settled in the nearby hills from one to two miles away. Thirty-nine houses settled in the hills between the villages of Furushima and Jahana, taking the name Kijikina. Ten houses located themselves in the hills just north of Kijikina in a settlement which they called Anahana. These latter two, however, function as a single settlement for administrative purposes. These 80 houses making up the scattered village of Kitazato have a total population of 414. Despite their physical separation these segments have striven with considerable difficulty to maintain their political and social unity; one mayor and council serves them, and people are constantly visiting from one area to another. Today most of their land is gone, and they are too far removed from any city, town, or military installation (the airfield is abandoned) for employment. Extreme poverty and bitterness are one's first impressions of the village.

178 177 727 [464] [311] [49]

Military installations have attracted people from all areas, and at the present time over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed by the military or in subsidiary occupations. Some of these people are drawn from the landless element which formerly would have emigrated. In other areas land has been left idle by those who have sought salaried jobs in preference to farming. In places, extensive military land use has greatly increased land pressure. The circulation of money has been accelerated, and new patterns of living have evolved. Many miles of all-weather roads have been constructed and the island transportation system has improved to a point where villagers have a mobility undreamed of in the prewar era.

177 178

The major forces for change have been technological and economic. Where changes have occurred in the social system, they have come about largely as a result of these factors. Man has always tended to accept new things faster than new ideas, but in final analysis these will alter ideas too. It has been said that the streetcar and trains have contributed more to the breakdown of the idea of caste in India than any other single factor; so too on Okinawa, the changes effected by a new technology, greater circulation of money, and improved mobility operate to alter the fabric of life. Most rural Okinawans would be decidedly opposed to any overt action designed toward weakening the unity of their village; yet, when they put aside farming to commute daily to a city job, avail themselves of the newspapers, movies, and radio programs emanating from the city, and no longer participate in labor exchanges and other cooperative ventures, it is to precisely this end that they are contributing.

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It is the opinion of the author that the major forces for change in contemporary Okinawa were already operative before the war. The real impact of the American occupation has been a rapid acceleration of the forces of change which have been slowly building up since the beginning of the century.

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Aspects of Change in Rural Okinawa: Transportation One of the most impressive changes in post-war Okinawa with far-reaching cultural implications has been the improved transportation system which has made possible a greater mobility. A network of modern highways now girdle the land where formerly narrow dirt roads and paths had sufficed. To one who had last seen the island in 1945 the contrast in 1954 was most remarkable.

178 491

The increase in motor vehicles has been more than ten-fold over the prewar period. Most villages now have easy access to bus lines which connect to virtually all points of the island. Where formerly villagers but rarely went to town, they now make such trips frequently. It is not uncommon in the Shimajiri and Nakagami areas of the island for an individual to commute each day from his village to his place of employment in a military camp, town, or city.

178 [494] [484]

The improvement in transportation has enabled the farmers to bring products to the best markets. Formerly most Kanegusuku products were sold in nearby Itoman, but today with the advent of rapid bus service to Naha many items are taken there for sale.

178 443

Education The Japanese established the first schools in the rural areas some time before World War I. Great emphasis was placed on making Japanese speakers and nationals out of Okinawans. Today most of the population is bilingual; those who speak only a dialect of the Ryukyuan language are persons over sixty and pre-school children. Most Okinawans have come to regard themselves as Japanese. 871 177 [191] [829]

A major change in the postwar educational system has been the addition of three years to the period of compulsory schooling, making a total of nine years. Since the schools continue to provide a Japanese education, the effect will be to increase the Japanization of Okinawa, raise literacy, and ultimately make all speakers bilingual. As a student is usually excused from all work by the family, this measure has served to withhold a large number of teenagers from the labor market.

In the rural areas the author heard frequent praise for the extension of the schooling period and the new school construction program initiated by the military government. Most rural peoples stated that educational opportunities were poor for them in the prewar period; high school education was said to be particularly difficult for a village child to achieve. Now they feel that they are realizing equality with the urban areas. The urbanite is more likely to suggest that the quality of education has deteriorated in the postwar period. Both rural and urban people were agreed that one decided improvement has been that students no longer fight among themselves. Before and during the war all students were organized into small groups based on area of residence; each group was headed by a student leader who shepherded his charges to and from school in semi-military formation. Rivalry between these organized groups frequently led to gang fighting so severe that the intervention of teachers or police was often necessary to restore order. 871 369 178 877 178

Rural people regard education as providing one of the best opportunities for improving one's status; consequently, the improvement of educational opportunities will have far-reaching effects on social mobility. Those who acquire a high school or university education rarely remain in the village, and the few who do remain adopt an occupation other than farming. 871 554

Economy Money was virtually non-existent in the old Okinawan village; barter was the chief means of exchange. Taxes under the communal land holding system were paid in grain and cloth. The land reforms initiated by the Japanese brought the introduction of tax payments in cash. Increasing emphasis on sugar production due to governmental encouragement and subsidy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the village and brought dependence on a cash crop. The period of Japanese administration was marked by a gradual adoption of a money economy in the rural areas. 437 436 178 177

Okinawans state that there is a far greater amount of money in the village today than in the prewar period. Some assert that due to governmental price controls they were never able to realize a fair return for their products (chiefly sugar) in the prewar era, but the great increase in money in recent years seems largely attributable to factors relating to the military occupation. Today over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed by the military and in subsidiary occupations such as construction; this steep rise in 434 178 [435] [864]

434 salaried employees has greatly increased the amount of money in circulation.
178 The large expenditures made by members of the military forces have also con-
464 tributed significantly. The farmer, in turn, has been able to realize a larger return for his products than was formerly possible, and in many farm villages a sizable number of individuals are engaged in military employment..

Farmers are spending more than ever before; self-sufficiency has further declined in that many articles formerly made at home are now purchased.
511 The standard of living, especially diet, is said to have improved considerably.
592 Formerly all income and resources were controlled by the household head for the entire family; today individual purses are said to be increasingly common.

621 Community Organization and Social Structure The solidarity and
178 integration of the village was severely diminished by the war and its aftermath. The prewar village was quite homogeneous; most of its families had resided there for many generations, village marriage practices tended to be endogamous, and nearly all were engaged in farming as their major occupation. Today in most villages there are a number of families new to the village since the war, and there are an increasing number of individuals who are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits. Both groups tend to play a lesser role in community affairs than the old residents who continue to farm.

476 There has been a considerable decline in reciprocal labor exchanges.
178 The man who is daily employed outside the village is automatically prevented from participating in such ventures. The widow who heads a household without any adult male members is often unable to participate or must limit her participation since a day's work by a man must be matched by two by a woman. Likewise the man who hires a bulldozer to clear some land or build a rice field instead of engaging his relatives and neighbors in a cooperative exchange is also contributing to the decline of the practice.

369 Formerly those who left the village usually emigrated to other parts
178 of the Japanese Empire, but today they usually obtain employment in the cities
621 or military camps. Consequently, they continue to exert some influence in their place of origin, since interaction is more likely.

621 In a community like Kitazato which has suffered poverty, hunger, land
178 loss, and exodus of members to other communities, there seems to be a reintensification of community spirit stressing cooperation and unity. This is in marked contrast to Kanegusuku and elsewhere, suggesting that when a major value---communal unity---is directly threatened, there is a reaction and reintensification of this value. Elsewhere where the process of change has been more subtle, no reaction has occurred.

565 Okinawan class divisions were officially abolished early in the period
177 of Japanese administration; yet they continued to be of some importance with regard to status and marriage for some time. Today people say that they are no longer of any importance except to a few of the very old. Distinctions on
559 the basis of wealth were largely erased by the war. It is frequently said, "After the war everyone was equal."

2. Military Employment

W. P. Labra

464 [177] An important factor in contemporary Okinawan life is the large number of people engaged in military employment or in subsidiary occupations. Over twenty-five percent of the total Okinawan labor force is so employed, and their day-to-day contact with Americans has far-reaching implications for Okinawan-American relations. It is also a factor of prime importance to the Okinawan economy.

In studying and visiting a number of Okinawan communities the authors noted a considerable variation in the importance of military employment to the community, the role of those so employed in village life, and the attitude of the villagers toward these people.

621 727 Kanegusuku The farming village of Kanegusuku was less affected than most communities by the war and subsequent occupation, little land was ruined, no military installations are in the area, and the majority of villagers are attempting to carry on as before the war.

621 464 Out of a total population of 507 persons, constituting 103 houses, there are but twenty men employed outside the village. Of these twenty men, seven are directly engaged in military employment and eight more are employed by civilian construction companies engaged in military construction. These individuals commute from the village each day to the greater Naha area. In most cases these men come from houses which have insufficient land for mere subsistence, or they are younger sons who are without land and/or who have not married and set up households of their own. Several are newcomers to the village since the war.

621 464 166 In the past a few who have secured jobs in military establishments or in subsidiary employment have left the village and established temporary residences in the city or near the camp. One of the motivating factors for making the move is a monthly saving of ¥600 ($5.00) in bus fares, but certainly another and perhaps stronger motivation has been the desire to escape the dreary life of the farm village. These people say that they do not wish to return to the village; yet, they have retained their land as an insurance against job loss. Most do not seem to regard military employment as a permanent career. They hope to save enough money to establish a small business or at the last resort to return to the village and buy more land.

621 464 829

Villagers regard those who have been able to secure military employment as rather fortunate individuals. In most families the additional income is most welcome as it provides a standard of living considerably above subsistence farming. In the case of those families where the husband or household head is employed outside the village the wife usually farms the family vegetable plots.

[511] [462]

621 464 In most cases those who are engaged in military employment, or in any employment outside the village, do not play an active role in village affairs.

621 Only five of these are household heads entitled to vote in village elections
464 or assume village office, but because their jobs keep them out of the community much of the time, they are not given village offices. There is some feeling on the part of the villagers that they are out of touch with the affairs of a farming village; consequently, their influence in the village thus far has not been too great.

621 Jagaru and Tobaru The villages of Jagaru and Tobaru in Chatan-son offer a
727 marked contrast to Kanegusuku in terms of the importance
464 of military employment to the community. These two contiguous communities are hemmed in on all sides by military installations. They constitute little more than housing areas within a township that has lost, according to its officials, approximately 91% of its land to military installations.

[541] Formerly nearly all of the families were engaged in farming as a full-
[178] time occupation; today less than one-sixth are farming and not all of these are able to depend on it for their sole support. Military employment has replaced farming as the chief occupation of these villages. In October of 1953 there were 2,352 persons out of a total population of 10,411 who were employed in military jobs. In addition there were a number of business establishments which were dependent on the trade of military personnel.

621 The welfare of Jagaru and Tobaru is wholly dependent on military em-
464 ployment. In the fall of 1953 there were rumors of an anticipated cut of 10% in the over-all Okinawan labor force employed by the military. This would
[434] have made over two hundred individuals and their families without any source of income or means of livelihood. The people were much upset by this prospect as every family had at least one member employed in military jobs and were wholly or in part dependent on their income.

In contrast to Kanegusuku those who were engaged in military employment in these villages played an active role in community affairs. A great many of them are household heads, and they are not regarded as being out of touch with village affairs since the chief occupation of the villagers is
621 military employment. While the Kanegusuku people regard securing a military
464 job as good fortune, the people here regard it as a necessity. According to
829 township officials most of this year's graduating class will look for jobs in the nearby installations.

The villagers are bitter because they feel that the military has not paid them adequate rentals for the use of their land. There is also some resentment over the conduct of troops in those communities during their off-duty hours. In short, though the villages are completely dependent on the military for their livelihood, they are bitter and resentful in their attitude toward it. The possibility of job losses seems likely to heighten this feeling.

621 Henza Shima The island of Henza off the east central coast of Okinawa dif-
727 fers from the above communities in that a large segment of its
464 population is engaged in military employment and yet the village itself is far removed from any military installation. This village suffered but slight damage and no loss of life during the war. After the war over four hundred repatriates returned to the village, bringing its population up to approximately 4,900.

This island has long faced a serious problem of over-population and food shortage; it is not self-supporting in foodstuffs and mainly derives its livelihood from fishing, shipping and ferrying. It has long had a symbiotic relationship with the neighboring island of Takabanare, supplying fish and shipping-ferrying service in return for food, but this has not been rewarding enough in recent years to offset its rapid population increase. A general postwar decline in coastal shipping largely due to the marked improvement of land transportation in highways and vehicles has sharply reduced the number of jobs in this enterprise, and the return of the repatriates has only added to the number seeking jobs. Military employment, however, has filled this gap and staved off mass unemployment. 621 464 505 433 [438]

At the present time nearly one quarter of the village labor force is engaged in military employment. Nearly all of the repatriates and a large number of old residents have entered military employ. Some of these have established temporary residence on the mainland nearer the military installations. A large number, however, commute by ferry boat and bus each day to their place of employment, and at low tide it is possible to walk the mile across the tidal flats to the mainland. 621 464 [484]

There has long been a tradition for the men of Henza to be away from the village much of time, engaged in activities on the sea. Thus, those who are away much of the time in military employment are merely following a long-established pattern. Unlike the absent workers of Kanegusuku, these people are not considered to be cut off from village affairs. All farming activities, much of the family's economic affairs, and some of the functions of government are carried on by women, contrary to usual Okinawan practice. [562]

The villagers regard military employment as a blessing and feel that it has contributed significantly to maintaining village prosperity. Aside from military employment they have little contact with Americans, although a few boat-owners have rented their crafts to American fishing parties. The villagers and their officials recall with considerable fondness their military government officer in the early days of the occupation. To date Henza relations with Americans have been not only good but also profitable; in short, American stock is high on this island. [829] 621 199 829

Summary On Henza and to a far smaller degree in Kanegusuku military employment has largely drawn off the surplus and largely landless population that formerly would have emigrated to other parts of the overseas Japanese empire. In Jagaru and Tobaru military employment has replaced farming as the chief occupation of the villagers. The contribution of military employment to the economy of Kanegusuku is negligible, although it should be noted that the number so engaged increased during the period of the author's study. In Jagaru, Tobaru, and Henza military employment is of vital importance to the village economy, and any sharp decrease will have severe repercussions. 464

Okinawan Attitudes Toward Those Engaged in Military Employment Okinawans make a sharp distinction in their attitudes toward men employed in military jobs and their attitudes toward women similarly employed. There seems to be no stigma of any sort attached to the male who has a job working for the Americans; in fact, 464 562 829

464 usually people tend to regard these persons as fortunate. During the entire
562 course of the author's stay on Okinawa he heard no sharp criticism of men who
829 were in military employment, yet many statements were heard about women who were so employed. This dichotomy seems to stem from the widely held belief that the American employers have sexual access to these women, particularly
[831] the maids. Okinawan culture affords its males a high degree of sexual freedom, but not its females.

464 It is said that the women who are employed by the military are cate-
554 gorized into several grades; the highest status is accorded to the office workers and PX clerks. These are followed by the kitchen and table maids, after which comes the maids who are employed in the dependent housing units; lastly there are the barracks maids, including those of the bachelor officers' and civilians' quarters. It is also claimed that these women can be distinguished on the basis of their dress. Supposedly the office workers and
[291] PX girls dress in the fashion of Japanese business women, whereas the housing
[107] and barracks maids dress in American styles which are considered loud and flashy.

464 It is claimed that many young men will not marry women who have been
554 maids in military installations. One young man asserted that these women were
582 no better than the "honeys" (a term used by Okinawans and GI's to designate the soldier's mistress).

464 The low status and pay (¥1200-1800, or $10-15 per month) for maids is
466 offset to a large extent by the gifts, food, and in many cases board which
[465] they receive from their employers. Despite the stigma there is no shortage of applicants for these jobs. Another factor is the free bathing privileges
[515] which ordinarily accompany these jobs. Very few Okinawan homes have a bath, and public baths cost the equivalent of ten cents in American money, a sizeable outlay for the Okinawan purse.

464 Most of the discrimination is directly attributable to the sexual
554 jealousy of the Okinawan male toward the women who work and often live in
829 close daily contact with Americans. There also seems to be some discrimination against any women in the category of maid, whether employed by American or Okinawan; in the past these were often indentured servants who had been sold by their parents into this low status.

186 <u>Okinawan Attitudes toward Their American Employers</u> It was the author's im-
829 pression that even those who had worked in close daily contact with Americans for a considerable period of time shared much the same stereotypes of the American as those held by the general public. It must be remembered that the points of emphasis in any stereotype are often those traits which seem obvious because they are so unfamiliar and hence not understood by the person of a different culture. Secondly, in every stereotype there is undoubtedly some considerable measure of truth; the important factor is the base of reference. Both Americans and Okinawans judge one another on the basis of different values and cultural backgrounds.

It
186 is also important to keep in mind that the relationship is always one of
829 American employer to Okinawan employee; consequently, the American is most
177 often the initiator of action.

464 Conclusion In a number of Okinawan communities military employment has drawn
434 off the surplus population which formerly had emigrated. In not a few communities it has become the mainstay of the economy.

464 Most Okinawans regard military employment as economically advantageous.
829 There is no stigma attached to men who are so employed, but considerable
554 stigma is attached to women who take this employment, particularly the maids.

177 The American installations are dependent to no small degree upon their
648 Okinawan employees, and in turn many Okinawan individuals and communities are
464 wholly dependent upon the military for their livelihood. Their relationship is a symbiotic one which can best be enhanced by mutual understanding; yet the social distance between the Okinawan and American is so great as to make interaction on a basis of equality rare. Because of their different cultural backgrounds and their job situations, both remain ignorant of the other's motives
[171] and values, and mutual understanding is difficult if not impossible. Common denominators in both cultures might be sought as a means of bridging this gap, as, for example, their common love of sports.

3. Japan, America, and Okinawa

W. P. Suttles

829 Japan in Retrospect Okinawan attitudes toward Japan are decidedly ambivalent. Factors that have entered into the formation of these attitudes are as follows:

175 1) Historic Relations On the negative side are the historic separa-
648 tion and former independence of Okinawa. This separate status is still re-
829 membered by old people, some of whom speak of wars between Okinawa and "Yamatu" (Yamato, that is, Japan). Several illiterate old people seemed to make no distinction between the conquest and oppression of Okinawa by the feudal state of Satsuma and the later annexation by the national government, and thus seemed to be blaming Japan as a whole for wrongs done by Satsuma.

171 On the positive side there is the indisputable remote common origin
174 and basic similarity of the Japanese and the Okinawans. Racially, linguis-
177 tically, and culturally the Okinawans are closely related to the Japanese.
829 They may be said to be merely a kind of Japanese. It is highly probable that the majority of the ancestors of the Okinawans came from the north, from Japan, in the not too remote past. Their isolation made it possible for them to be politically independent and their political independence made it possible for them to escape the levelling influence of Japanese national governments, particularly that of the Tokugawa Shogunate, and for them to have closer contact with China. This accounts for their having a number of elements of Chinese culture that are not found in Japan, but it does not make them a kind of Chinese.

2) Japanese Political Administration On the negative side is the domination, during the period of Japanese administration, of Okinawan public life by men from Japan. But on the other hand Okinawa became another perfecture and not a colony, and there were possibly not many more men in Okinawa from Japan's urban centers than in other remote and poor perfectures. As Japanese subjects in a Japanese prefecture, Okinawans could rise in the Japanese system and indeed a few did. The position of Okinawa was quite different from that of Korea. 648 829

Insofar as the Japanese policy of assimilation was successful, the fact that most of the important posts in the prefectural government were occupied by men from Tokyo could be ignored. If the Okinawans identified themselves as Japanese the difference would be less important. (The degree of Japanese domination and the harshness of the regime, moreover, seem to have become exaggerated in the minds of many of the Americans on Okinawa at present; some of the USCAR personnel with whom we talked appeared to be unaware of the fact that Okinawa had the same legal status as other parts of Japan.)

3) Japanese Assimilation Policy The policy of the Japanese government and particularly that of the Ministry of Education was undoubtedly one of cultural imperialism. The aim was to produce a uniform people. A strong attempt was made to eradicate the native language and many native customs that did not agree with Japanese ideals, the periodic redivision of land ('jiwari seido') and the use of the pigpen as a toilet, to name two. School teachers labelled the Okinawan language a "dialect" of Japanese, thus giving it inferior status, and labelled many Okinawan beliefs "superstitions". The army also undoubtedly attempted to replace Okinawan with Japanese ideals in many young men. These attempts may have produced hostility in some Okinawans, but it is our impression that the more usual result was to produce merely a feeling of inferiority. Okinawan speech and culture went down in value and Japanese speech and culture went up. Younger Okinawans who could not speak good Japanese felt inferior, but within the Japanese hierarchy. Moreover, in recent years Okinawan speech and customs have been given new prestige as museum pieces by the fact that outstanding Japanese scholars have devoted some attention to them. 648 177 829 152

4) Treatment of Okinawans in Japan Undoubtedly Okinawans who went to Japan in the twenties and thirties to look for employment were discriminated against by Japanese employers. A great number of Okinawans went to Osaka to work in the textile mills. Accounts of informants reveal that the mill foremen stereotyped Okinawans as lazy and unreliable and did not hesitate to say so. (In view of the conditions of labor, Americans in the same position might well have earned the same stereotype.) Some mills did not hire Okinawans if they could avoid it. 167 464 177

In rural Japan people were in utter ignorance of Okinawa. Students who were evacuated in 1944 to Kyushu discovered this. One young man told how the peasants in Miyazaki-ken thought that Okinawans were South Sea Islanders and expected them to come wearing clothes made of the leaves of trees and expected to have to teach them how to cook rice. 000